1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

593 marriages. But in the Sarakatsan family the obligations of the
581 parents towards their children transcend all other considera-
tions. It is their duty to bring them up in an honourable and
[586] integral family group. Divorce is not possible. Consequently
the marriage bond, if for no other reason than its position
within the total complex of family relations, is an indestructible
tie. The husband and wife, through their categorical obligations
to their children, are compelled to an almost complete identi-
fication of interests.

2. PARENTS AND CHILDREN

596
854 Children from the day of their birth are the centre of attention
and interest in the family. The needs of the infant take priority
over all others. Since the family generally lives in a single hut
without internal partitions, the adults must make many
concessions. The new-born child sleeps tightly swaddled in a
wooden rocking cradle which is enveloped from end to end in a
blanket, so that he lies in a kind of dark airless tent. Mothers
are fearful of the effects of cold air and evil spirits, and even at
the height of summer a fire is kept burning day and night inside
the hut to the discomfiture of the adults. If the child is a light
sleeper, nobody is allowed to talk. For the first forty days after
the birth, the hut or house after dusk is like a city under siege,
with windows boarded, the door barred, and salt and incense
at strategic points such as the threshold and window cracks to
repel any invasion of the Devil. The child is the single concern,
and its condition almost the only topic of conversation.

From its earliest days the infant receives attention from all
the members of the family. The grandmother nurses it while her
daughter-in-law moves about her many tasks. When he returns
from the sheep the father at once turns to his child and plays
with it. The grandfather, the uncles, and the unmarried aunts,
are always bending over the cradle to smile at it, and young
siblings, ignoring the child's resentment, plant enormous
[855] kisses on its face. This intense attitude of love and concern for
the child on the part of all the members of the extended family
does not change as the child grows up.

867 By the age of four, a child has differentiated in an elementary
858 fashion the various roles of different individuals in the extended
family. He has distinguished between the attitudes of his

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

858 593 also of some discipline. The father appears as benign and indulgent, but in the last year of this period he begins to be recognized by the child as the family leader, although he is not yet actively exercising his authority.

857 868 855 872 From the age of four until they go to school for their compulsory primary education, at an age of between six and a half and seven years, children remain for the most part in their mother's care. But they begin now to identify themselves with the parent of their own sex. Little girls of four or five follow their mothers about pretending to spin thread from a distaff or to help them in their work; or they play amongst themselves at being mothers, with dolls improvised out of pieces of stick and rags. Boys of five and six are given miniature shepherd crooks with which they solemnly help their fathers and uncles to control the sheep when they are mustered near the huts. 857 867 They begin, too, to join in the play of their elder brothers and cousins where they learn to throw and wrestle. A small boy always loses but if he shows spirit he is approved of, and his father pats his head and tells him he is a 'tough lad' (γερὸ παιδί). The father remains indulgent but there is now a suggestion that his easy permissive attitude is contingent on the child learning more grown-up ways of behaviour.

872 858 In his seventh year the child begins to attend school. In the case of both sexes this marks a degree of enforced emancipation from the constant care and supervision of the mother, an emancipation which is greater in the case of the boy than the girl. This introduces a new element of strain into his life. The child now for the first time plays a representative role for his family *vis-à-vis* the outside world. The other children will [203] know from which family he comes, they will tell their own parents what he did or did not do, the schoolmaster will sit in the coffee-shop and tell his audience that the child of John Carvounis is clever or dull. Not only is the child's new role representative but it involves responsibility since his success or failure in public behaviour reflects in some degree on all the other members of his family, particularly his parents.

869 858 593 872 As their six years of schooling advance, children become progressively more aware that the loving indulgence of their father is conditional on their living up to the standards which are expected of a child of their particular sex and age, especially in behaviour outside the family.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

person to redress the wrongs of rape and homicide. The solidarity of siblings is also passive, in the sense that the loss of prestige suffered by an individual on account of his evil or dishonourable acts equally affects his siblings. Therefore, the individual is responsible to his brothers and sisters for whatever he says or does. Only in the context of a vengeance killing do siblings generally escape the liabilities of passive solidarity; for the brother of a homicide is not generally considered to be a legitimate surrogate as an object of vengeance for the victim's family.

The emotional identification of siblings has its origin in the common experiences of early childhood. As children they sleep under the same blanket and eat from the same bowl. Older siblings look after the younger ones and protect them from the bullying of other children. There is an unthinking trust and loyalty. It is rarely possible to persuade an unmarried sibling to pass even a mildly adverse comment about a brother or sister. Usually personal secrets are not entrusted to anybody but a sibling of the same sex. Sisters discuss their fears and hopes of marriage, a subject which it would be shameful to mention even to their mother. Brothers share each other's anxieties about personal animosities and imagined insults.

The sympathy and emotional identification of sisters emerge with poignancy on the day of a girl's marriage. The unmarried sisters whom the bride leaves behind display a grief which in its public aspect is certainly conventionally expected, but for some days after the wedding they seem even within the privacy of the family hut to be stunned by the loss of their sister's accustomed presence. Sisters sense the dread and apprehension which the bride herself feels when she leaves the protective circle of her family to be given into the care of strangers. The violent shock of the sexual assault is also in their thoughts.

Unmarried brothers work together in service to the family flock. They are conscious that the physical survival of the family as well as its prestige depend in the last resort on the animals. This common dependence and service to the flock is another ground for their close identification. They do not work (as is the case in the co-operation of cousins or married brothers with separate households) with one eye on their partner to make sure that he is not shirking his share of the work. The mutual

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

Not only are the various relationships between roles of opposite sex based upon a complementarity of function, but the whole complex of relationships between the two parents and the children of both sexes is similarly structured. No doubt the same statement might be made about parental roles in many societies. This is a matter of degree. But I believe that the very clear definition of the complementarity of the parental roles in the Sarakatsan family is related to two significant features of this community.

The first of these features is the relative isolation of the members of an elementary family from their collateral kin and the opposition of the family to all other unrelated families. A consequence of this is that almost all the individual's categorical obligations fall within the one small group; where also he finds the only source of unconditional security and support to which he is able to turn. Hence the relations between the mother and the other members of the Sarakatsan family group, of whose solidarity she is the material and symbolic focus, possess a particular intensity and unconditional quality. I have illustrated a number of ways in which the mother represents the solidarity of the family and the security to be found within its circle; in the valuation of the physiological connexion between mother and child; in the ideal of the mother as the unselfish and self-sacrificing giver of protective care. We have remarked the absence of strong authority in a relationship of intimacy, and the sexual virtue of the mother as the symbol of the family's honour and moral solidarity.

The second characteristic feature of the community that concerns the parental roles is the importance of prestige values. In the first four years such mild discipline as the child suffers originates from the mother; the father and all other members of the family are loving and indulgent. After the age of four the father's authority is gradually established and the very strong affection of the child for the father which grew up during the first four years of permissive behaviour is used by the father to encourage the child to more adult ways of behaviour and to a sense of responsibility to the family group. The mother is now the more permissive of the two parents. As we saw in the case of young Lambrine, however harsh and angry the father becomes the mother remains compassionate and unchanged. Thus after

848 /142 cont./
578 a dispute of this kind could only engender disorder, even the dis-
602 solution of the group.

848 It is, moreover, within this same complex of ideas that we must
684 seek the justification of the sanction which is imposed on any woman convicted of adultery and which always means death. It is essential, (593) first of all, to prevent even the possibility of illegitimate children. (152) Sarakatsani law that threatens with capital punishment the women who betray conjugal fidelity, does not seek to punish the flouting of love, (182) since love does not exist between spouses--at least officially. It merely preserves the integrity of Sarakatsani society.

The Life Style of the Conjugal Family.

855 The presence of children in the family raises a whole series
594 of questions dealing with their education, their status and their relations with each other as well as with their parents.

855 Up to the age of approximately ten years the children of both
593 sexes grow up together under the vigilance of their mother. That is
594 the period of their lives when, on the one hand, the father is seldom involved and, on the other hand, bonds are established between them
855 and with their mother. /143/ Having reached this age, the boys begin
593 to follow their father and their older brothers in order to learn the
868 methods of herding, while the girls remain close to their mother in
594 order to be initiated into the mysteries of the distaff and the loom.

593 Toward their father all the children without distinction owe
594 absolute obedience and devotion. The study of marriage has sufficiently shown this.

Toward their mother the girls likewise owe obedience and devotion.

For the sons the situation is different. We were present at the return to the parental hut after a long absence of a Sarakatsani son aged 30 years. We remember vividly the scene of his meeting with his mother, which made a great impression on us. He bowed to her and kissed her hand.